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Message Text

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70
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05

ACDA-07 CU-02 BIB-01 /092 W
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R 291623Z JUL 76
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7002
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
USMISSION BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
USMISSION GENEVA
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL MUNICH
USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
USDEL MBFR VIENNA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 12022

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, UR, US, CSCE
SUBJ: SOVIET CSCE IMPLEMENTATION ON THE HELSINKI ANNIVERSARY

1. SUMMARY. YURIY ZHUKOV'S HELSINKI ANNIVERSARY ARTICLE
IN PRAVDA JULY 29 PRESENTS A LIST OF SOVIET "CSCE IMPLE-
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MENTATION" MEASURES -- CITING, AMONG OTHER THINGS, THE SOVIET-

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GDR TREATY AND BLOC SUMMITRY WHICH DOES NOT COME
TO MUCH AND WHICH INCLUDES A WHOLE ARRAY OF ACTIONS
WHICH THE KREMLIN WOULD HAVE UNDERTAKEN WHETHER THE
FINAL ACT EXISTED OR NOT. WE ARE STRUCK BY ZHUKOV'S
DEFENSIVENESS AND ESPECIALLY BY THE FACT THAT THE PRO-
GRAM OF SMALL BUT GENUINELY POSITIVE STEPS WHICH
MOSCOW TOOK AT THE TURN OF THE YEAR TO IMPLEMENT THE
FINAL ACT HAS ALL BUT EVAPORATED SINCE THE 25TH
CONGRESS IN FEBRUARY. IT MAY BE WORTH CONSIDERING
WHETHER IT WOULD BE OF ANY VALUE TO ENCOURAGE THE SOVIETS
IN OUR DIALOGUE ON CSCE TO RESUME SMALL STEPS AT A
STEADY PACE IN ORDER TO AVOID THE KANGAROO COURT AT
BELGRADE THEY ARE NOW BEGINNING TO FEAR. WE MIGHT
ARGUE THAT THEY STAND TO GAIN BY GUILDING A RECORD
WHICH IS NOT ONLY SOLID IN THEIR OWN EYES, BUT CONSISTENT
AND DEFENSIBLE TO WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION. END SUMMARY.

2. HELSINKI ANNIVERSARY ARTICLE BY YURIY ZHUKOV IS AN
EXCEPTIONALLY CLEAR EXPOSITION OF WHAT SOVIETS CONSIDER
THEY HAVE DONE TO IMPLEMENT THE FINAL ACT. AND,JUST
BECAUSE IT IS SO STANDARD, IT IS ALSO AN ILLUSTRATION
OF THE DEFENSIVE MODE IN WHICH THE SOVIETS FIND THEM-
SELVES ON CSCE MATTERS A YEAR AFTER HELSINKI.

3. FIRST PORTION IS BUILDUP OF CREDENTIALS FOR CURRENT
SOVIET APPROACH TO EUROPEAN SECURITY MATTERS: THERE
HAS BEEN A "BASIC TURN" IN "FATE OF OUR OLD CONTINENT,"
BEGINNING WITH OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND CREATION OF TWO
KINDS OF STATES IN EUROPE. THIS WAS TRANSLATED AS PEACE-
FUL COEXISTENCE PRINCIPLE INTO SOVIET STATE POLICY
AT GENOA CONFERENCE IN 1922. ACCORDING TO ZHUKOV, HELSINKI
IS REALLY "THE CHARTER OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE," JUST
AS "MANY PUBLICISTS" CLAIM, AND EVERY ONE OF THE FINAL
ACT PRINCIPLES COLLECTIVELY ACCEPTED BY THE PARTICIPAT-
ING STATES "CORRESPONDS IN SPIRIT AND IN LETTER TO THE
REQUIREMENTS OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE."

4. MORE INTERESING IS BLOW-BY-BLOW RUNDOWN OF "TITANIC
LABOR" BY USSR AND OTHER "SOCIALIST" STATES OF EUROPE
TO IMPLEMENT HELSINKI OBLIGATIONS OVER PAST YEAR. IN
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ORDER OF APPEARANCE, IMPLEMENTATION HAS CONSISTED OF:

-- BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL MEETINGS OF "SOCIALIST"
PARTY AND STATE LEADERS AT HIGHEST LEVEL, WITH SOVIET-
GDR TREATY OF OCTOBER 1975 GIVEN AS EXAMPLE OF THIS KIND
OF "COOPERATION";

-- "PRINCIPLED AND PURPOSEFUL" EFFORTS OF "SOCIALIST"

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COUNTRIES TO MAKE THE HELSINKI PRINCIPLES A BASIC
PART OF RELATIONS WITH "CAPITALIST" COUNTRIES THROUGH
HIGH-LEVEL VISITS (PORTUGAL, FRANCE, FRG, ITALY, FINLAND,
SECRETARY KISSINGER "AND FONMINS OF MANY WE STATES" IN
SOVIET CASE) AND VARIOUS JOINT INSTRUMENTS (FOR USSR,
DECLARATIONS WITH FRANCE AND ITALY, PNE TREATY WITH
U.S., AGREEMENT ON NUCLEAR ACCIDENTS WITH FRANCE);

-- MEASURES TO INCREASE CONFIDENCE: MANEUVER NOTIFICA-
TIONS AND OBSERVER INVITATIONS;

-- DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMIC TIES ON FIRM BASIS OF LARGE-
SCALE, LONG-TERM COMPENSATION AGREEMENTS, TOPPED
OFF BY PROPOSAL FOR CONFERENCE OR INTERNATIONAL MEET-
INGS ON ENERGY, TRANSPORT AND THE ENVIRONMENT; AND

-- BRINGING UP THE REAR, DEVELOPING SCIENTIFIC AND CUL-
TURAL COOPERATION, EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION AND CONTACTS
BETWEEN PEOPLE, WHICH "SHOW THE FRUITFUL INFLUENCE OF THE
POLITICAL DETENTE TAKING PLACE IN EUROPE."

5. LAST SECTION, WHICH COMBINES PLEDGE OF FURTHER EFFORTS
ON EASTERN SIDE,STRESSING ARMS CONTROL, AND FINAL COLUMN
ON ANTI-DETENTE FORCES IN WEST, IS OF INTEREST LARGELY BECAUSE
ZHUKOV ADDS A NEW CATEGORY TO STANDARD DIVISION OF WESTERN
OPINION INTO ANTI-COMMUNISTS AND REALISTIC THINKERS: THESE
ARE THE SUPPORTERS OF "SO-CALLED 'COLD PEACE" WHO UNDER-
STAND THAT OLD-STYLE ANTI-COMMUNISM WILL NO LONGER WORK
AND THUS ADOPT MORE CLEVER METHODS TO DISCREDIT THE
ESSENCE OF DETENTE AND SLOW DOWN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
AGREEMENTS ACHIEVED AT HELSINKI.

6. COMMENT. FORCED BY THE ANNIVERSARY TO SWOT UP A LIST
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OF SIVIET IMPLEMENTATION MEASURES OVER THE PAST YEAR,
ZHUKOV HAS NOT COME UP WITH MUCH, AND THAT LITTLE IS
HEAVILY COMPOSED OF THINGS THE SOVIETS WOULD HAVE DONE
ANYWAY, E.G. SUMMITRY, BEGINNING WITH THEIR ALLIES,
TROTTED FORTH UNDER THE CSCE LABEL. EVEN MORE STRIKING,
FROM OUR VANTAGE POINT, IS THE MEAGERNESS OF THE IM-
PLEMENTATION PROGRAM CURRENTLY UNDERWAY. THEIR DEFEN-
SIVENESS BEGAN AS A CHARACTERISTIC SOVIET REACTION TO THE
NEGATIVE WESTERN REACTION TO SCCE, AND HAS CONTINUED UN-
ABATED. AT THE TURN OF THE YEAR, HOWEVER, IT WAS
SUPPLEMENTED BY A PROGRAM OF SMALL POSITIVE STEPS--THE
BREZHNEV CONFERENCES PROPOSAL, THE FIRST
MANEUVER NOTIFICATION AND OBSERVER INVITATION, REDUCTION
IN THE PRICE OF THE EMIGRATION PASSPORT, SOME SIGNS OF
FLEXIBILITY ON EMIGRATION DECISIONS AND PROCEDURES, TRAVEL,

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AND WESTERN NEWSPAPERS--WITH SUGGESTIONS THAT OTHERS WERE
IN THE WORKS. IT APPEARS TO US THAT THE REAL CHANGE IN
THE SOVIET APPROACH WHICH HAS TAKEN PLACE OVER THE
LAST FIVE MONTHS IS THE EVAPORATION OF THIS PROGRAM, WHICH
LEAVES BEHIND ONLY THE MEAN-MINDED CARPING OF PUBLICISTS
LIKE ZHUKOV AND MEDIA EXPOSES OF HOW MANY MORE BOOKS,
FILMS AND TOURISTS THE USSR CAN POINT TO THAN THE WEST.

7. WE ARE UNCERTAIN WHAT HAS CAUSED THIS PROGRAM TO
EVAPORATE. ON POSSIBILITY IS THAT THE SOVIETS
ARE SAVING UP WHATEVER THEY CAN MUSTER IN THE WAY OF
FURTHER IMPLEMENTATION, BY WESTERN STANDARDS, FOR RE-
LEASE IN THE MONTHS JUST PRECEDING THE BELGRADE
MEETING. WE KNOW THEY EXPECT TO BE PILLORIED AND DIS-
LIKE THIS PROSPECT. IT MAY ALSO BE THAT THE CRITICISM
BY WESTERN COMMUNIST PARTIES OF SOVIET PRACTICES (LABOR
CAMPS, PLYUSHCH) HAS BEEN HARDER FOR THE SOVIETS TO
HANDLE THAN THE NEGATIVE REACTION OF WESTERN GOVERN-
MENTS AND OTHER ELEMENTS OF WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION,
SINCE IT IS SO MUCH MORE DIFFICULT TO TAR COMMUNISTS
WITH THE "ANTI-DETENTE" LABEL EVEN WHEN IT IS MORE
JUSTIFIED. IF SO, WESTERN COMMUNISTS MAY HAVE HAD SOME ROLE
IN FREEZING THE SOVIET CSCE IMPLEMENTATION MACHINERY FOR
THE TIME BEING. POSSIBLY, ALSO, THE "PROGRAM OF SMALL
STEPS AT YEAR'S END WAS DEVELOPED AGAINST THE 25TH CPSU
CONGRESS DEADLINE, FOR FEBRUARY, AND GROUND TO A HALT
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ONCE THE DEADLINE WAS PAST.

8. WE WOULD WELCOME WASHINGTON ANALYSIS OF THIS PHENOMENON.
WHATEVER THE CAUSES, HOWEVER, IT IS WORTH CONSIDERING
WHAT STEPS WE MIGHT TAKE TO ENCOURAGE THE SOVIETS TO
RESUME THE POSITIVE PART OF THEIR CSCE APPROACH. ONE
CONCEIVABLE ARGUMENT TO MAKE TO THEM MIGHT BE THAT A
FLURRY OF IMPLEMENTATION MEASURES ON THE EVE OF BELGRADE
MIGHT BE TOO LITTLE AND TOO LATE TO AVOID THE KIND OF
KANGAROO COURT THEY EVIDENTLY FEAR, AND THAT IT WOULD BE IN
THEIR OWN INTERESTS TO CONTINUE AT A STEADY PACE TO PUT
INTO EFFECT MEASURES WHICH FALL DEMONSTRABLY IN THE CATE-
GORY OF CSCE IMPLEMENTATION BY THE CURRENT STANDARDS
OF WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION AND TO BUILD A RECORD FOR BELGRADE
WHICH IS NOT ONLY SOLID BUT, AS THEY THEMSELVES SAY,
CONSISTENT OVER TIME.
MATLOCK

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